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The villager's diet is greatly affected by factors other than his financial condition or even his own personal likes and dislikes in food. Social pressure is a determining force.

Although the financial condition of the family does play a part in determining the differences in exact details of meals, most villagers' meals are very much alike. Rice is always preferred as the center or focus of each meal. Various items such as dried fish and some steamed, dried, or fresh vegetables may be added to the rice. Pickled items may also be included for variety and flavor.

Many village families, however, because of poverty or, sometimes, for reasons of thrift, substitute sweet potatoes for rice. If fresh, the sweet potatoes are steamed; otherwise, shredded dry sweet potatoes will usually be steamed together with the rice with which they are mixed. Sweet potatoes are much less expensive than rice, since they are grown on the less desirable nonirrigated dry land. Generally speaking, the villagers do not like sweet potatoes, and the adults complain that when children eat sweet potatoes they soon become hungry again and that they have stomach pains. On the other hand, rice is universally enjoyed and is held to be satisfactorily filling.

## FOOD AND RITUAL ENTERTAINMENT

The villagers' best opportunities for good eating as well as entertainment come mainly on religious, magical, and other occasions which are usually marked by festivity. These festive occasions are fairly frequent and have widely diverse origins; the religion of the villagers is Taoist, with an admixture of Buddhist and animistic beliefs and, of course, ancestor worship. In addition, the people frequently take part in magical rituals requiring the offices of shamans and various forms of divination in the case of illness, when demons are thought to be involved. Ample food of relatively high quality is served at almost all of these frequently performed religious and magical rituals, especially when outside guests are present. The amounts and kinds of food vary with the occasion. At one of the ordinary *pai-pai* (any ritual in which food or other items are sacrificed to gods or ancestors), which in the Hsin Hsing village area occur at least four times a month and at which there are usually no guests, the additional food may be some cooked pork or fresh fish and soup. This food is used for the ceremonial sacrifices and eaten later. There are elaborate food preparations for larger *pai-pai* dinners such as those for the village god, or at marriage festivals to which outside guests are always invited, or to a lesser degree at dinners for laborers at harvesttime. Sometimes at weddings, funerals, or other such occasions there are as many as eighteen

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courses, served with wine. Chickens, ducks, and geese are slaughtered, and on some of these occasions the villager will even slaughter one of his pigs to feed his many guests.

Other than these large festive occasions, the simple monthly *pai-pai* are the sole occasions when a family which can afford it may eat more and better food without incurring criticism from neighbors. Therefore, although it may not be necessary to include pork in the minimum sacrifice at the particular ritual, these occasions have become socially sanctioned opportunities for eating better foods than usual. This is one reason why the villagers look forward to and continue to observe even the least important *pai-pai* ceremonies.

At the same time, there is a certain amount of ambivalence among some adults toward the larger *pai-pai*. They realize that they can scarcely afford the high cost of such festive occasions which often saddle them with debts. However, in addition to the pleasurable anticipation with which the villagers look forward to these occasions, social pressure also makes it necessary for each family to take part in these ritual affairs. Each guest who attends such a large dinner is expected to reciprocate and invite his host to some similar occasion in the future.

This kind of socially necessary variation in the eating habits of the Hsin Hsing villagers means that the diet and general nutrition of the villagers is not at all constant in either quantity or quality.

Besides the feasting the ritualistic events occasion, they are the villager's main source of entertainment as well. For in addition to the festive dinners served on such occasions as the village god's birthday, a funeral, or the going-away party for village boys going off to the army, usually there is also entertainment. This may be formal, such as a travelling professional puppet show, or informal, such as drinking and finger games. Such events attract neighbors as well as friends and relatives from surrounding villages. Therefore villagers enjoy these entertaining ritualistic events, not only in their own village, but in neighboring villages with which they have ties of kinship, friendship, and the like.

For entertainment outside their own village or neighboring villages, the people sometimes go to Lukang to see a movie at the local theatre. The movies may be of Chinese, Japanese, or American origin. There are usually two showings a day, one in the original language with Chinese titles and the other with Taiwanese (Min-nan) dubbed in for the convenience of the many illiterate village people.

More often the villagers go to the local Taiwanese opera house in Lukang, where travelling companies perform regularly to large crowds. Although the movies and the opera are relatively inexpensive, villagers do not often indulge in these forms of entertainment. This is mainly because of the amount of time involved in going to Lukang

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entirely and finding a new tenant. Thus, while a tenant felt he would have some security on the land, if he could cement his relationship with his landlord or landlords, even such security was of questionable duration. And the tenants' problem was worsened by the small size of the fields, which meant that it was not uncommon for a man to have more than one landlord.

A good many landlords who rented land in the area to Hsin Hsing villagers did not live there. A number lived (as some still do) in relatively distant villages, and a few, usually businessmen, lived in Lukang or Taichung City. Since absentee landlords usually did not rely exclusively upon their land rents for a livelihood, they were often not very strict with their tenants. In the event of a crop failure, the villagers recall that most of these absentee landlords were willing to allow a rent reduction, perhaps even more so than the landlord who lived in the village area. It was not, of course, easy for the absentee landlords to operate their land by themselves or to find a new tenant or hired laborer to take care of the land for them. The landlord who lived in the village area could operate the land himself with hired laborers or else easily find a new tenant.

The tenant whose landlord lived in the immediate area considered the maintenance of good *kan-ch'ing* an important factor in determining his tenure. He apparently realized, nevertheless, what a slender reed it was, since he admitted that absentee landlords were easier to deal with. Keen competition for land, especially in the postwar period, resulted in a constant danger that other would-be tenants might approach the landlord and offer him a higher rent or other concessions. Under such circumstances the tenant could only try to fulfill all of his obligations to the landlord with the hope of maintaining a precarious goodwill.

I heard of several landlords in Hsin Hsing village and the immediate area who switched tenants every year, with hardly a word of explanation, as they received better rental offers. Although such landlords were extremely unpopular in the countryside, there was little that tenants could do. These landlords were well known in the area for such practices, and when labor was in short supply during the extremely busy part of the agricultural season, many local farm laborers refused to work for them. This technique of getting back at unpleasant landlords is still used today. One landlord family in Hsin Hsing was greatly disliked by the villagers in the postwar period and to this day often has difficulty in obtaining labor at harvesttime.

The case of this family is an excellent example of the landlord-tenant problem in Hsin Hsing. Good feeling and mutual aid had existed between the old landlord, who was head of his family, and many of his tenants. After the death of the old man—which was prior

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to land reform—his wife and sons were not concerned with continuing these good relations. Whenever the opportunity arose for securing higher rents from a new tenant, the wife and sons threw the former tenant off the land. Most of the villagers felt hostile towards this family for its greediness and betrayal of the formerly good *kan-ch'ing*.

Ironically, in the postwar period, it was the constant fear and uncertainty which prevented the active growth of any movement or demand among the tenant farmers in this area for some kind of land reform. Such activity would immediately endanger a tenant's relationship with the landlord, especially the local ones, and his tenure on the land would be jeopardized. Even to complain about the situation was dangerous. Other farmers, desperately in need of additional land, might inform the landlord that the tenant was criticizing his treatment or perhaps abusing or neglecting the land. Then, after planting the seed of distrust, the informer might offer to rent the land himself. The tenant's fear of such competitive tactics and his insecure relations with his landlord ensured his continued submission to the system.

## LAND REFORM PROGRAM

In mainland China, land reform in the form of a rent reduction program had been attempted as early as 1929 by the Chekiang provincial government (Chang, 1954:16). The program and others, which were intended eventually to transfer land ownership from landlord to tenant, were attempted by other provincial governments also, as well as by the Nationalist government in various provinces such as Fukien, Szechwan, and Kwangsi up to the time of the Communist take-over in 1949 (Chang, 1954:16–19; T'ang, 1954:89–95). However, while some of the programs were successful, they were all very limited and at best effective only in localized areas of the mainland.

After the Nationalist government took over in Taiwan, a large-scale Land Reform Program was successfully carried out on the island. This was a "Three Step Program" instituted officially by the National government in 1951 and completed in 1953. Chang (1954:20) wrote: "The first phase, also the mildest reform, seeks improvement of the tenant's living without overthrowing the tenancy system or changing the tenant's status. The second phase, the converting of a fraction of tenants into owner-farmers by selling public land to them, may be taken as a trial or transitional stage. The third phase, Land-to-the-Tiller, aims at turning all tenants into owner-farmers . . . the last and final goal of land reform."

The program was based on a law known as the "Regulations Governing the Lease of Private Farm Lands in Taiwan Province," promulgated by the provincial government of Taiwan on April 10, 1949.

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frequently postpone the division of a family for a number of years. Contrary to Freedman's findings (1958:21) that "as long as at least one of the parents is alive, married brothers were more likely to remain together," family division in Hsin Hsing village usually takes place before the death of the old father. Frequently, it occurs soon after the sons of the family are married and sometimes after the first son has married. In such an early division the parents, who are sometimes not very elderly, may join the conjugal family of one of the sons, thus forming a stem family. More frequently, however, the parents themselves form another conjugal family as do each of their sons. If the parents do form a stem family with the oldest son, he may be granted a somewhat larger portion of land in the division than his brothers, in order to care for the parents.

In either case the parents remain in their own living quarters. If the parents form their own conjugal family and the father is still able to work in the fields, he is likely to retain a small portion of land for himself at the time of division. If the parents officially become a conjugal family, they will be fed and cared for on a rotation basis, usually for ten or fifteen days, by each of the new *chia* formed by the sons. They receive a certain amount of pocket money from each son, sometimes in cash but frequently in rice, after each harvest. (They can then sell the rice when they need cash.) Should they need medical care, it is the sons' responsibility to contribute equally towards its cost. If division takes place before all the children are married, the parents form a conjugal family with the unmarried children, retaining a large enough share of land to give the unmarried daughters a dowry and the unmarried sons a land parcel equal to what each of the married brothers received.

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From fear of public criticism as well as from filial piety a son rarely fails in his obligations to his parents. A son who has moved his conjugal family to Taipei may sometimes be delinquent in sharing the costs of his parents' care, but more often the problem is his inability to do his share of parent-feeding in the monthly rotation. Under such circumstances the other brothers often refuse to take over the absent one's duties, dividing the month up among all the brothers as if the Taipei brother were still in the village. The parents, then, much to their annoyance, have to cook their own food in the absent brother's part of the rotation, even though he sends them money from Taipei to pay for it.

After the family division, if one of the sons (and his family) who received a portion of land is working in Taipei, the father may spend a good deal of his time farming the land for his son. An old father who has a family large enough to care for him in his old age may spend his time occasionally helping his sons on their land, doing odd jobs

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582 585 gifts and dowry, goes through or past several other villages, drawing crowds of people as it passes. To the villagers this is all exciting and something which should be part of a marriage. At the occasional marriage between two Hsin Hsing villagers, the wedding procession with sedan chairs, dowry, and music goes along a regular route through two neighboring villages and back to Hsin Hsing. Villagers do not consider this quite as stimulating.

582 578 606 The preference for marriage beyond the village limits also rests on the feeling that it is not a good thing to have one's in-laws too close or to have the bride in too close proximity to her parents' home. When the two families live nearby, there is too much opportunity for bad feeling to develop between them. When the two families are in the same village, every detail of how the daughter-in-law is treated by her husband's family immediately reaches her own family, and it is far too easy for the girl to run home with complaints about every hardship, real or imaginary, in her new family. This sort of thing can easily cause interfamily conflict. In intravillage marriages in Hsin Hsing there have also been instances where a daughter-in-law has spent too much time in her old home, helping her mother instead of always being available in her husband's house to do whatever work is asked of her. Of the twelve marriages between Hsin Hsing families, relations between the two families in five cases were not considered good for a variety of such reasons.

582 584 626 Another factor favoring marriage outside the village is the village parents' fear of gossip about the cirrcumstances of the marriage. If both families live in Hsin Hsing village there is a good chance that the boy and girl knew each other before marriage; this in itself is considered improper, and people are very likely to say that this was a "love marriage" forced upon the two families because the young couple had been secretly seeing each other and having sexual intercourse. When one hears village discussions of marriages which have taken place between Hsin Hsing villagers, one gets the idea that almost all of them have been the result of a secret love affair. Such secret affairs do usually force the two families to agree eventually to a union between the two young people. Thus, in most instances, neither the couple nor their parents will willingly discuss the reasons for an intravillage marriage. When they do, they usually say that the marriage was arranged because both families felt the boy and the girl were well suited. They feel it is necessary to defend such a marriage from the inevitable talk. Family members usually remark that they had firsthand knowledge, without needing the word of a matchmaker, that the girl would be a good worker and an asset to the family. However, no matter what reasons are given, other villagers openly discuss the matter, often good-naturedly teasing those involved and making jokes about the "real" basis for the marriage.

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Thus, while marriage outside the village is preferred, it is far from being a strict pattern in the Hsin Hsing area. Villagers do not frown upon nor criticize intravillage marriages, though they good-naturedly joke about the manner in which they were supposedly brought about. This, however, in no way appears to injure the status of the families or of the couple.

The most basic factor favoring marriage outside the village is the family's desire to extend and solidify its connections with new families in different places, most preferably with families with which there is no already existing *ch'in ch'i* relationship. Families in a village like Hsin Hsing, where they have a limited number of *tsu* relatives, feel it a definite advantage to extend their connections to families with which they can have relationships not marred by the enforced intimacy which so often spoils the relations between *ch'in tsu* or fellow villagers. Marriage between two Hsin Hsing families technically produces a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, but proximity tends to produce an enforced intimacy which has the disadvantages without the advantages of the *ch'in tsu* bond. The courtesy and warmth normally typical between *ch'in ch'i* is eroded by the frequent contact and increased opportunities for conflict.

### *Cousin Marriage*

Although, as already indicated, there is a definite surname exogamy and a preference for marriage outside the village, there is no preference for any form of cousin marriage over noncousin marriage in the Hsin Hsing village area of Taiwan. It would be convenient if, on the basis of investigations made on the mainland, such a nonpreference as found in this area of Taiwan could be shown to be universal for Chinese society; however, the relatively few published studies that deal with aspects of cousin marriage in mainland China differ greatly in their findings. For example, the literature indicates that of the two possible forms of cross-cousin marriage—with mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral) or father's sister's daughter (patrilateral)—in some mainland areas considerable feeling is expressed against one or the other or both, but particularly against the patrilateral form. In many parts of China the latter is technically allowed, but not socially acceptable in practice. Thus the over-all picture is both confused and confusing, and the only present certainty is that the patterns of practice and acceptance vary widely throughout mainland China.[7]

In the Hsin Hsing village area, while there is acceptance of some forms of cousin marriage, no single type is actually preferred to noncousin marriage, and although most forms of cousin marriage are technically allowed, they are not equally acceptable. It is thus apparent that in this area, like many on the mainland, the allowance of cross-cousin marriage is certainly not symmetrical.[8] In any case, in Hsin

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582 Hsing village the number of cousin marriages of any kind is small.
582 Rather than cousin marriage, Hsin Hsing villagers prefer marriage
612 with an outsider of no blood or previous affinal connection, i.e., with a
571 family with which they do not already have a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, as was explained above. This results from their strong desire to extend their circle of family or *ch'in ch'i* relationships to new families in other villages with whom there is *no* prior *ch'in ch'i* relationship.

582 As several people of the area pointed out, "the villagers prefer to
584 arrange marriages between families whose relationships are good." Al-
612 though they think it may be all right to let their children marry a relative (*ch'in ch'i*) if the relationship between the families is good, at the same time they are not particularly interested in arranging such a marriage and usually do *not* do so. There are many villagers who have stronger feelings on the subject and think it unwise to arrange a marriage with the family of a *ch'in ch'i*, since "they are afraid bad *kan-ch'ing* may develop between the two families if the daughter-in-law and her husband's family do not get along well." They do not want to risk endangering an already good *ch'in ch'i* relationship. As long as the two families are on good terms, they think it is wise to leave well enough alone, and this added to their preference for building new *ch'in ch'i* relationships through marriage outside the village provide strong support for outside marriages.

582 As already mentioned there are some marriages between cousins,
601 however, in the Hsin Hsing area. When it comes to cousin marriage, though, there are very definite opinions as to which forms are acceptable and which are not. There are three possible kinds, though they are not equally regarded: (1) patrilateral cross-cousin marriage (*ku piao hsiang ch'in*); (2) matrilateral cross-cousin marriage (*ku piao hsiang ch'in*)—in Hsin Hsing, at least, these first two elements (*ku piao*) are again used rather than those of *chiu piao*, as sometimes reported by anthropologists for mainland China areas and other parts of Taiwan;[9] and (3) matrilateral parallel-cousin marriage (*i piao hsiang ch'in*). Patrilateral parallel-cousin marriage is, of course, out of the question because both young people bear the same surname.

582 In a patrilateral cross-cousin marriage a young man marries the
626 daughter of his father's sister, bringing her back to live in the home
[591] of her mother's brother. She now bears the same surname her mother
[551] had before marriage and belongs to the same kinship group; worse, in village opinion, her husband and her mother in this sense share the
(835) same name. The relationship is felt to be so close that the marriage is almost incestuous. Such marriages are thus frowned upon, and people talk about and criticize the two families for making such arrange-
(827) ments. Some people even believe that when the blood ties between families are so close, the children born of the union are likely to be

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mentally defective ("stupid"); one villager said that the "former Japanese emperor Ta Cheng was a stupid person because his family always arranged marriages with their own kinsmen."

In a matrilateral cross-cousin marriage a young man marries the daughter of his mother's brother, bringing her back to live in the home of her father's sister. The villagers call this "following the aunt." In village opinion this kind of marriage is all right as long as there is good *kan-ch'ing* between the families. Since mother-in-law and daughter-in-law were both born in the same village and the same patrilineal kinship group, they are likely to have much in common and, thus, perhaps have a warmer relationship than usual, which tends to reduce the possibility of domestic conflict. To the villagers this kind of marriage is similar to a match arranged between the children of two families which are friends; no one criticizes or gossips about such marriages.

In a matrilateral parallel-cousin marriage a young man marries the daughter of his mother's sister, bringing her home to live in the house of her maternal aunt. This kind of marriage is generally approved, since to the villagers the kinship ties between the two families barely exist. Kinship terms for matrilateral parallel-cousins do exist, but not many villagers use them. A partner in such a marriage is thus not necessarily marrying someone designated by label as a kinsman. The bride has been born into an entirely different kinship group than her mother's sister, and before marriage she did not refer to her aunt's husband or son by formal kinship terms; they were only recognized as unlabeled *ch'in ch'i*. In village opinion, therefore, marriage of a girl to her matrilateral parallel-cousin is almost like marriage to a stranger. This is much different from marriage with either cross-cousin, "who are always clearly thought of as some kind of relative by birth." (See Appendix 2 for a further discussion of cousin terminology and for a listing of kinship terminology in Hsin Hsing village.)

Hsin Hsing village's representative to the *hsiang* council provided the following estimates which bear out the villagers' attitudes towards cousin marriage noted above.[10] By his estimate, in Hsin Hsing village, and probably in the area generally, less than 0.5 percent of the village males marry their father's sister's daughter (patrilateral cross-cousin). About 1.5 percent marry their mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral cross-cousin), and about 2.0 percent marry their mother's sister's daughter (matrilateral parallel-cousin). In other words, it is this informant's opinion that "Only about 4 percent of the marriages are with *ch'in ch'i;* the remainder [or 96 percent] are marriages with strangers or friends."

Just as the people of the Hsin Hsing village area think it preferable, for the most part, not to have cousin marriage, there also seems to be

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ing to the circumstances of the particular case. The woman's economic circumstances and her age are the basic determinants of whether or not she will remarry and whether or not her marriage will be accepted or criticized. A young divorcee or widow who has very young children or none can do little but remarry unless she is wealthy. A second marriage for her is generally acceptable. The woman with young children must have someone to support her and her children until they are old enough to contribute financially to the family. It is also felt that a young childless woman, and even a childless rich widow, should remarry, if for no other reason than to bear children who can later care for her and worship her after her death.

A woman wealthy enough to support herself and her children, or over thirty-five with older children who can or soon will be able to work is not considered honorable if she remarries. Since there is no pressing economic reason for her to marry again, if she manages to find a husband—and this is certainly difficult—she will be generally criticized. People usually assume that her only reason for remarrying was to fulfill her sexual passions, and they joke and laughingly speculate about her sex life. Therefore, such a woman does not usually remarry.

In the infrequent cases in the rural area today when a man and woman are divorced—often because the man has found himself another wife in Taipei—the woman will probably return to her native home if they will have her. An alternative solution is for her to go to the city or town to work and earn her own living, which is an innovation for women. If she returns to her native home, as happened in the one recent divorce case in Hsin Hsing, her family will probably attempt to arrange for her to remarry as soon as possible in order to rectify such an unnatural family situation. If a divorcee has children by her first marriage, any male children would almost automatically remain with their father or at least with his family. The divorcee from Hsin Hsing had one young daughter and was considered by everyone to be blameless in the divorce. She had been advised by the police—who had helped work out the terms of the divorce and make the final settlement [11]—that she would be better off if she made her husband keep the little girl, since otherwise the child's presence would make it that much more difficult for her to start a new life either working or finding a new husband. In a sense, then, it was considered that she had won the divorce, since her husband had to take their little girl. The woman, of course, took back all the furniture and other items of her dowry which she had brought into the marriage.

Since the Hsin Hsing villagers realized that she was not at fault, although she was much talked about, she was not criticized. Nevertheless, even though she was still only in her middle twenties, she was now very limited in her choice of a marriage partner. The only men who

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881 574 612 [462] Many *ch'in ch'i*, friends from outside the village and some fellow villagers are invited to share the food and drink which were offered to the gods. For the most part the *ch'in tsu* and other villagers who are present are there primarily to help serve and entertain the guests from outside. Women, who never serve food at village festivals, work in the kitchen, helping to prepare the food for the male chefs.

882 At sixteen a boy is, in theory, considered an adult, ready to take on adult responsibilities. Although he does have some new responsibilities and privileges, he is nevertheless not really considered an adult until he becomes a father and may frequently not be treated as an adult until he is himself the head of a household. However, at sixteen there are certain changes in social status for the boy. He may, for example, now represent his father and his family at village meetings, voting for his father if the occasion should arise and even speaking for his family. In addition, it is considered proper for the head of a household to leave his sixteen-year-old son to act as host and entertain the family's houseguests.

882 883 593 [626] A boy of sixteen is considered old enough to leave home by himself to work in the city. Although there are boys under sixteen working in Taipei, their parents are quick to point out that their fathers are there to watch over them. It would be considered highly irregular for a village family to allow a younger boy to be in the city unsupervised. Villagers are always concerned about possible criticisms of the way they bring up their children. If something should happen to an unsupervised boy in the city or if he should get into trouble, people immediately say that the parents are at fault because they neglected their duty and did not take proper care of their son. Therefore, the social recognition of a boy as an adult at age sixteen in a sense protects his parents from criticism and alleviates their pangs of conscience should something happen to the older boy who is away from home alone.

883 882 [868] [243] [465] As boys move into their mid-teens they begin to take on added responsibilities in the economic life of the family. More and more of their labor and their earnings, if any, are contributed to the family treasury. At about eighteen the boy begins to do many of the field chores. At this time he also may hire out as a field laborer, receiving a man's wages. Sometimes a fellow villager may teach him how to transplant rice seedlings, for which training the boy receives meals but very little financial remuneration. Once he has learned this skill, however, the boy can hire out as a laborer at NT $20 to $25 per day.

883 Although the boy now begins to take on many responsibilities, he still spends a great deal of time playing with his friends. Village boys in their late teens and early twenties form small groups and spend much time together telling stories, going into town, and generally

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other girl was not interested in continuing her education after graduation from primary school and so first attended a sewing school in the area, then went to work in Taipei under the guidance of a relative, and was finally called home where she began to make clothes for pay. Since this girl's family did not need the income from her work, she did not take the work seriously and spent much time amusing herself in the village and in Lukang where her older married sister lived. Although the girl's father was extremely strict with his sons, even with one who was married and himself a father, this daughter was allowed a great amount of freedom.

The sexes begin to be more and more segregated once village children reach the age of eight or so, and this continues on throughout adulthood. It is, of course, much less true for those who attend middle school, where there is much more opportunity for boys and girls to do things together. However, except for a few occasions when they work side by side, as in weeding operations, the ordinary village adolescents have little contact with others of the opposite sex, particularly in public places.

The sight of a boy and girl together in public can be the basis for all kinds of rumors about the nature of their relationship. The fear of criticism and ridicule by fellow villagers is more than enough to prevent open associations. However, there is frequently talk in the village about secret love affairs between young villagers. Sometimes such young people are actually seen together near the river in the dark of night, and their secret meeting is immediately publicized in the village. According to many villagers, the talk precipitated by such relationships has been the cause of those marriages arranged between Hsin Hsing villagers.

## CONSCRIPTION

Since about 1953, young Taiwanese as well as mainlanders have been conscripted into the Nationalist Chinese armed forces. The length of service is normally two years, and the usual and preferred draft age is twenty-two. However, as late as 1958, twenty-nine-year-old married men with families who had somehow not been called up earlier were still being inducted into the service. Supposedly, a married man with a family is drafted only if his nuclear family is part of a joint family. Sometimes, however, even if the joint family is divided a man may be drafted if the local public officials feel that the man's brothers can help support his family. Each district has its own quota of conscripts.

For purposes of communication and training it is important that the soldier have some fluency in Kuo-Yu. However, there are many boys in the rural area who either never went to school or who did not

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themselves of some of the responsibility in the ultimate choice, and if something goes wrong with the marriage, the parents can always remind the young people that they agreed to the match.

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In actuality, even though many young people want some voice in choosing a mate, most attempt no further contact after the "initial meeting." The boy usually makes no effort to see the girl even if he knows she works in a field near the road, fearing that if anyone sees him they will laugh at him.

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The parents of the boy make their choice on the basis of qualities which they feel will best benefit the family. Thus, they usually seek a healthy, strong, and capable girl who can do the necessary work in the house and the fields and seems able to bear children. They also want a girl who can get along with people well and who can thus adapt easily to the new household into which she comes as a stranger. The girl's family wants a son-in-law who is economically and emotionally stable and can therefore provide adequately for their daughter. Both families place equal importance on the economic condition of the bride's or groom's family and the kind of *ch'in ch'i* they are likely to make.

The choices available to a family trying to arrange a marriage are limited by their own socioeconomic standing, and the families of a newly married couple are usually as evenly matched in this regard as the bride and groom are matched both physically and intellectually. On occasion, hoping to arrange a better marriage, one family and the matchmaker may conspire to deceive the other family as to economic standing or the intelligence or ability of the son or daughter. One such marriage was arranged by a matchmaker from Hsin Hsing village between a lower girl and a boy from another village. No mention was ever made to the groom's family that the girl was rather dull, not capable at housework, or even at work in the fields. The justification the matchmaker offered for her behavior was that "after all, if the couple is actually married, then it must mean that they were fated for each other, and therefore there is nothing wrong." This same attitude is occasionally adopted by people who feel they have been similarly cheated; it enables them to accept the *fait accompli* and make the best of it.

However, such attempts at deception are not at all common, and "usually a stupid person marries a stupid person; otherwise they can't get along." The villagers feel that a marriage between people who are too different is likely to lead to the girl's unhappiness. More important, they know it may wreck the relations between the two families. For example, it may end with the girl being sent back home. Another important deterrent to attempts at deception is the danger to the family's reputation and general status if they do something so generally considered improper. However, most village families hope that

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*hsiang* Public Office and obtain permission to bury the body in the public cemetery. (Burial in private fields has not been permitted since early in the Japanese period.)

Relatives, including *ch'in tsu*, married daughters, and *ch'in ch'i*, are notified of the death and asked to come to the home of the deceased. Relatives in distant places are notified by means of telegram, special-delivery express letter, or telephone. If their relationship to the deceased was a close one, they too are asked to come to the village. Relatives who live nearby are usually notified of the death by messengers, such as a younger member of the deceased's family or some *ch'in tsu*, friend, or neighbor.

While they are still on the road approaching the village relatives begin to wail, and as they enter the village they fall to their knees and crawl to the house and into the room where the body lies. Someone who was present at the time of the death may crawl out to meet and welcome these relatives and then crawl into the room with them. *Ch'in tsu* relatives and married daughters are expected to wail and crawl both to show their respect for the deceased and to express their sorrow for not being present at the death. The villagers consider it unfilial to be absent when a parent or *ch'in tsu* relative who is older or of a higher generation dies. Many villagers look on and may criticize the arrivals for not wailing loud enough or for not getting down on their hands and knees to crawl soon enough. One may also hear old village women note how filial someone is because of the distance she crawls or the way she wails.

### *Preparation for the Funeral and Burial*

Immediately after the death, arrangements are made for five *tao shih* to come to the village from Lukang to officiate at the funeral. A village funeral may be delayed because the *tao shih* are participating in a funeral elsewhere and are not available immediately. Usually, five *tao shih* form a group and work together with a small orchestra of three or four men who normally accompany them to the ceremony. The group of about eight men usually charges approximately NT $580 (US $10.50).

It is very rare that a Buddhist funeral is held in Hin Hsing or other villages of the area. While most of the villagers worship Buddha and Kuan Yin along with the Taoist hierarchy of gods, they are not Buddhists, and the one such funeral held in recent years was for the old mother of the largest landlord family in the village. This woman was a Buddhist, and while she was still alive had Buddhist nuns come to the village to pray for her.

Virtually all village families willingly assist in the funeral preparations. Most village families are members of one of several "Father-

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plained easily or cured quickly by present-day medicine, or for any other problem in which the cause is believed to be supernatural. 756

The *t'iao t'ung* also sometimes deals in divination while in a trance. At such times the god speaking through him may, for example, give advance notice of future events such as the visit of a "guest god" from a distant area like the mainland of China or even some coming change in the life of a villager or in the village itself. [787]

Perhaps the most important specialist in divination, however, is the geomancer. As we have noted earlier, he determines the auspicious time and place for important events like marriage, burial, or building a new house. He does this through the use of his special almanac, which is based on astrology, the conceptions of Yin-Yang, the Five Elements, and so on. The geomancer himself is usually an ordinary man, very often a farmer, whose divining activities are performed in his spare time for a small fee. He has generally been trained by an older geomancer, very often a relative. The training consists mainly in gaining a mastery of the uses of the almanac and in acquiring a familiarity with the formalities and proper sequences of the events which he must give advice about. One geomancer in Hsin Hsing village is scarcely literate, yet he has apparently mastered enough knowledge about his almanac's contents and the proper sequences of events to be employed frequently, especially in surrounding villages outside of Hsin Hsing. Hsin Hsing villagers, however, seem to prefer to call in an outside geomancer rather than to consult their own fellow villager. The villagers' awareness of the relative illiteracy of geomancers in general (who are nevertheless still called in for consultation) makes one suppose that the formal qualifications of the practitioner are less important than his acceptance as a recognized geomancer. His powers may not be considered to depend entirely on the amount of formal training he has had, or his function in relieving the members of the family from the responsibility of making a difficult decision may be sufficiently valued to make his actual qualifications unimportant in their eyes. 791 [212]

Other kinds of diviners, fortune-tellers, or people who are said to be able to communicate with the dead can be found in Lukang and other such towns and cities. Fortune-tellers are frequently itinerant, and occasionally pass through the villages offering their services.

When a fortune-teller happens to come through the village, it is not unlikely that he has heard that some family there has a problem in which a fortune-teller may be of assistance. In Hsin Hsing, for example, the very wealthy K'ang landlord family had nine daughters and two sons. Apparently, it was generally known that the family would like to give one daughter out for adoption, but was hesitating to do so for fear they would be criticized. It was at this point that a fortune-teller "happened" to come to the village and offer his service to the 791 597 626

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791 597 626 K'ang family, which immediately consulted him. In the course of reading the family's fortune he conveniently found that portents for the future were unfavorable but could be positively influenced if one daugher were given up for adoption. This course was adopted and quickly acted upon. There was now little fear of village criticism, since the action was clearly necessary to preserve the family's good fortune.

## SUPERNATURAL RITUALISM

791 789 All religion exists to provide at least an illusion of protective control against the uncertainties of nature. Although efforts to draw a clear line between religion and magic are usually not successful, certain differences can be pointed out. Generally, religion has some ethical or moral content, while magic contents itself with a more limited scope. Religion functions to preserve a concept of the universe in which man can survive (almost always including after death) so long as he obeys the rules; and the rules are those which his religion teaches him. Depending on the complexity of his particular religion, his priests may or may not be able to intercede directly for him with the mighty supernatural beings who are his gods.

Magic, on the other hand, does not usually have a strong ethical content; generally, it is completely pragmatic. In its concepts, supernatural forces or beings exist; they may be relatively indifferent to man or may be beneficent or malevolent. The essential thing about all of them is that they are subject to certain controls which can be wielded by man (often by specially gifted individuals only). As Malinowski (1948) has often pointed out, the art of magic is the manipulation and coercion of impersonal supernatural powers in order automatically to bring about a definite and desired end. In the Hsin Hsing village area, although it may be at times difficult to draw a clear line of distinction between religious and magical rituals, both types are nevertheless identifiable.

796 As to clearly religious rituals, I found that Hsin Hsing area villagers usually draw a distinction according to the cyclic or noncyclic nature of the religious rite. The normally expectable events like birth, marriage, death, and some other such "rites of passage" or "crisis rites" which are noncyclic have already been discussed in Chapter 7. I will now discuss the fixed, recurrent group rites, usually referred to in the literature as "rites of intensification."

### *Cyclic Rites*

The villagers' calendrical schedule of *pai-pai* contains only rites associated with formal religious holidays. However, there are other cyclic rites whose time schedules are determined strictly by the individual family or *tsu* group; though cyclical, they fall into another

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"curative and health-giving powers." Although the villagers of the Hsin Hsing area realize the importance of boiling drinking water, they will drink this holy water immediately after taking it out of the river and claim that they suffer no ill effects.

When the villagers have filled their receptacles, they depart for their own village. The *t'iao t'ung*, who is still in a trance, is carried on the top of a large sedan chair ordinarily used to transport the statues of gods. On his head is a large bandage. Although he has suffered only a superficial wound, the *t'iao t'ung's* actually cutting his head with a sword is impressive to the observers, since the blood flow increases when he dips his head into the water. All along the route homeward other villagers, already informed of the ceremonial, display sacrifices to the god who possesses the *t'iao t'ung* and bring out bottles and kettles in which to receive some of the holy water that is being transported in large barrels.

## THE FUNCTIONS OF RITUAL IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE

Having examined the occasion and occurrence of many rites and rituals, we turn now to ways in which they function within the structure of village society and support it. Generally, their most obvious contribution is that participation in the ritual itself helps to relieve the anxiety of people who are desperately seeking to survive in a world of uncertainty or looking for solutions to otherwise insoluble problems. This is true whether the ritual is designed for protection or to moderate natural or supernatural disaster—illness, fire, or demonic possession—since at the very least the villager feels he is coming to grips with the problem. Other results of ritual are less obvious.

Curing rites, for example, resemble all medical practices in having useful side effects or fringe benefits beyond the actually therapeutic. Not only the patient but the whole family must be considered. The Chinese cultural focus on the family emphasizes the reciprocal responsibility of family and individual. Thus, a Taiwanese family must take advantage of every possible means to cure an ailing member or be looked down upon and criticized by the entire community for neglect, which increases the anxiety of the situation.

Therefore, when Western medicine does not work, the traditional-minded villagers turn at once to the shaman, feeling that the very failure proves that the illness is of supernatural origin. But even the skeptical families which have no firm belief in the potency of the magical rituals usually have them performed. This may be partly to avoid social censure, but, in fact, not even the most skeptical are entirely convinced that the rituals are ineffectual. Such villagers have been heard to say, "perhaps the ritual does help. And could one allow

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shaman's magic. The awe and shock which he inspires in the patient could have actual therapeutic value, at least to the extent of bringing about temporary relief if not recovery, and may not be too dissimilar to the effect of electric shock. And fear of the "shock treatment," in either case, may provide as beneficial a result as actual recourse to the treatment.

A social function of ritual, and especially of shamanistic types of ritual, might be briefly considered here. This is its "entertainment" value in rural areas. Frequently, large numbers of people turn out to witness curing or fire rituals, which may last long into the night. They almost always regard the shaman's performance as an exciting event. Many attempt to become participants, and some in their enthusiasm and excitement may even become possessed. Most participate by merely presenting sacrifices. Frequently, large crowds come from surrounding villages to watch the often "amazing feats" carried out in the course of some shamanistic rites. In this process of drawing together for an exciting ritual event, the people gain a strong—if temporary—feeling of social cohesion. Even later, the rituals give the villagers an interesting topic to discuss and gossip about for many days. Thus, although there is little formal entertainment in rural Taiwan, the ritual act often serves to fill its place.

Even though these rituals are performed by so many villagers, it does not particularly indicate absolute faith in the supernatural. While a great number of old people still hold these beliefs without reservations, today most of the villagers express some degree of uncertainty. Generally, villagers say that "many *t'iao t'ung* are not as powerful as they used to be, and also there are some who are probably fakes, but who can really tell?" (This is a point frequently made in the past by the Japanese when they ruled Taiwan and again today by the present government through the school system.) In addition, the villagers ask, "Who can really know if the *t'iao t'ung* is possessed by a god and speaking the god's words?" But all the villagers "know from experience that life is hard," and they constantly seek ways to temper this harshness. Although their faith may not be absolute, they "would not dare merely to sit and do nothing" when a sick member of the family showed no improvement, or a child neither ate nor slept for days, or a fire destroyed someone's house. They are anxious, and their continued recourse to magical or religious rituals represents their attempt to do everything possible to allay their apprehension of the unknown.

Thus, even the most skeptical of the villagers will call on a shaman in an emergency. Though the importance of Western medicine has reduced the old primary reliance on ritual curing, social pressure as well as the desire to do everything possible if one method fails forces

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them to resort to ritual means. Neither their own nor their neighbor's consciences would allow them to let a member of the family die without the attempt to benefit from supernatural intervention.

It was probably these two factors, social pressure and fear of leaving any method untried, which opened the way for the very notable acceptance of Western medicine in Taiwan. While the skeptic is thus forced by them to call upon the shaman, the traditionalists are likewise forced to call upon Western medicine when traditional methods have failed. As we saw in the case of the baby girl who died, the village did not feel that calling even upon two shamans was a clear indication that the family wanted the child to live; it was strongly felt that a Western doctor should have been called in as well. The general disapproval is not simply an example of the increased faith in Western medicine, but a reflection of a total attitude toward the control of unknown and powerful forces. After all, the microbe theory of illness is often, even in the enlightened West, only another species of demonology.

Many of the functions of the magical rituals we have just discussed are also similar for the religious (*pai-pai*) rites. People look forward to the many *pai-pai* held in the village area. At the very least they offer a change in the daily routine of life. Many of them are occasions filled with thrills and excitement (*je nao*). This is particularly true of shamanistic rituals, and scores of villagers may flock to the scene of the performance. Young boys and men who have worked in Taipei and who, for various reasons, have been forced to return to the village almost always attend such events. These men seem to yearn for something to replace the excitement of the city.

Since community pressures for thrift also have tended to standardize the villagers' diet, even the most insignificant *pai-pai* represents an opportunity to eat better than ordinary food. A village family, unless wealthy, is criticized for eating any but the simplest food on ordinary days. People gossip behind their backs about their extravagance and general lack of thrift. Then, if the family should have to borrow money or need village aid at a future date, people may cite their extravagance and irresponsibility as a reason for refusing them. Thus, even the simplest *pai-pai*, like those held on the first, second, fifteenth, and sixteenth of each month, offer people a welcome justification for eating good food, and the bigger the *pai-pai*, the better the food.

The most obvious functions of the *pai-pai* are often recognized by the villagers themselves. There are several other important functions that the villagers may not talk about unless they are questioned about them.

Although in the process of organizing and administering *pai-pai*

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there may be certain devisive influences (usually along family or *tsu* lines), many Hsin Hsing villagers realize that the *pai-pai*, and to a lesser extent the magical ritual, are the main occasions for show of cooperation and unity within and between families and *tsu* groups in the village. Many independent, kin-related economic family units, which are more than ever before assuming greater economic independence, still come together for ancestor worship. Also, the whole village acts as a single unit when preparations are made for worship at large village *pai-pai* or a few shamanistic rites. Such widespread cooperation among the villagers of Hsin Hsing, and apparently among those in the other villages of the area, is not at all common on day-to-day occasions.

These *pai-pai*, as we have seen, also provide an opportunity for the extension of relationships beyond the boundaries of the village itself. Except for the occasional marriage, funeral, or boy's sixteenth-birthday celebration, the large *pai-pai* ceremonials are the only chances the villagers have to invite outside guests formally and to be invited in turn. Since all of these occasions stimulate reciprocal invitations and visiting, they therefore tend to facilitate contact and thus closer ties with *ch'in ch'i* in other places, which seems to be more and more emphasized in recent years. As we have already seen, the Matsu procession and *pai-pai* tends to foster cooperation and closer relations across village lines.

Even Christian families living in other villages in the area serve a large dinner and invite guests when their village holds an elaborate *pai-pai*. Although they themselves do not worship, these Christians realize that they have few opportunities to have guests and receive return invitations from relatives and friends. On such occasions they also feel obliged to do as the others do in order to avoid the laughter and criticism of their neighbors. People would say that they are either "too tight to spend the money" or perhaps just too poor. Such criticism tends to lower the reputation and general status of the family, and thus even Christians, on occasion, succumb to community pressures.

Religious and magical rituals in the Hsin Hsing area seem in general to be holding their own in face of the socioeconomic changes we have noted—changes brought about by increased economic security, higher standards of living and health, improved communications, and increased mobility. It is clear, though, that some practices of religion and magic have been weakened both in intensity and frequency. For example, many curative magical practices have been supplanted by Western medical practices as a primary means of curing. The significance attached to religious holidays such as the New Year and even some ancestral-worship ceremonies has actually de-

*599 855 would run and pick me up and beat some milk to feed me. Everyone says that she was very good to me. She was just like a mother, and she is still very fond of me. When she tells me about those days she still cries about it, and then I cry too. My foster mother was always beating me. It wasn't that she didn't like me; it was just her temper. She would beat me whenever she was angry. Sometimes I would just be sitting there doing my homework, and she would grab me and beat me for no reason at all that I knew of. I had to be very careful. Sometimes I would run away bleeding and still she would chase me and beat me some more. When my sister got married and had a baby I would run home from school right away and carry the child because I knew that I wouldn't be as likely to get beaten with the baby on my back. Because I liked to study so much I got my sister to enroll me in school. Oh, how I got beaten for that! When I needed money for school, I always asked my sister to give it to me, not my mother. I didn't dare ask her. And when I got home from school I always had to work. I can still remember looking out the window at other children playing when I was working. Sometimes when my foster mother left the house I would run out and play. Naturally I would forget how long I was there, and then I would really get punished. Really, my foster mother beat me too often and too hard. I was always shaking with fear. My husband married into our family, and we moved next door, but my mother would still come over there and beat me. Whenever I think of my childhood I wonder why it was that my mia: was so bad."

*599 • 626 Needless to say, such treatment of adopted daughters is not generally approved. Foster parents who beat their adopted daughters are often criticized for "beating other people's children," and if the treatment of the child is excessively cruel the family's neighbors may [358] interfere on behalf of the child. This happened in Hsiachichou in the case of an elderly woman who made a practice of confining her adopted daughter under a bamboo chicken coop and then walking around and around the coop with a bundle of burning paper. But while public opinion does exist and does to some extent serve to protect adopted daughters, it is really only effective in curbing the worst kinds of abuses. Many

#597 village foster parents claim that they have to treat their adopted
• 626 daughters better than their own children to avoid criticism, but in their franker moments most of the villagers admit this is not the case. After several village mothers told us that they were afraid to punish their adopted daughters as severely as they punished their own children, we innocently asked one of our more reliable informants if this were generally true. She answered, "You walk around here all day talking to people. Can't you see? Haven't you heard people say that it is better to be a poor man's daughter than a rich man's adopted daughter?"

#597 As one might expect, this situation causes no little concern to
#562 the parent who is thinking of giving a child away in adoption. Although they are always more interested in their male children than in their female children, village parents are nonethless fond of their daughters, and the expectation that a child will be mistreated by her foster parents naturally makes them reluctant to give her away in adoption. After recounting her own unhappy childhood as an adopted daughter, one village mother told us that she "would rather starve than give one of my girls away in adoption," and another informant confided the thought that it might be better to drown a female child than to commit her to a life as a sīm-pûà. We also know of several cases in recent years in which parents who had considered giving a girl in adoption did not do so for fear that the child would be mistreated by her foster parents. For example, early in our stay in Hsiachichou we heard of a village family which was planning to give one of their daughters to a neighbor who was also a distant relative, but when we later inquired

*584 suggest a long standing reluctance to the sīm-pûà marriage on the part of those facing the prospect of such a marriage.

*584 *593 • 626 Before looking further for the source of the younger generation's distaste for the sīm-pûà form of marriage, we should note that whatever their reasons are they must be very good ones. The consequences for a young man or young woman who refuses to make such a marriage are often far from pleasant. The parents are almost certain to be angry with a son who refuses to participate in their plans, and they may even go so far as to disinherit him. We knew of one young man whose father drove him out of the house when he refused to marry his sīm-pûà, and though they were later reconciled the father made his more obedient younger son the head of the household. At the very least the young man who refuses to marry a sīm-pûà will become the object of a good deal of unfavorable public comment. The primary duty of a male in this life is to obey and provide for his parents, and he is almost certain to be branded "unfilial" if he appears to come in conflict with his parents over the matter of his marriage. If there is the possibility that the parents can yield gracefully, as in the case of the preferred marriage where the crucial question is usually the choice of the particular girl, a son can resist his parents without appearing to come into conflict with them. The difficulty in the case of the sīm-pûà marriage is that the parents are always very much committed to their prior decision because they have raised the girl, and as a result the young man who is opposed to making such a marriage will usually be forced to extreme measures which will make the conflict apparent to all.

*584 *597 *593 *562 • 624 But whatever the consequences for the son of the family they are seldom as severe as for the sīm-pûà who resists marrying her foster brother. The girl's position in the family is a weaker one, and as a result she must pay a higher price for her intransigence. Most parents cannot afford to alienate one of their sons permanently, but there is no point in retaining the loyalty of an adopted daughter if she refuses to play the role for which she was adopted. Parents are therefore ready to apply whatever pressures are necessary in order to make the girl acquiesce to their plans. As a result, when it is the girl who takes the lead in opposing the marriage she must often go to extreme lengths to overcome her parents' determination. One [548] [464] village girl ran away to her natal home rather than marry her foster brother, and we know of at least three cases in which sīm-pûà left their foster homes to become prostitutes. They were either unwilling or unable to return to their natal families, and this was the only way in which they could manage to support themselves independently.

A girl's refusing to marry her foster brother also makes it difficult for her to marry out of the family. Her foster parents may refuse to arrange another marriage as a means of punishing her, and even if they do call in a go-between it may be difficult to find a family willing to take a former sīm-pûà as a daughter-in-law. Prospective in-laws suspect that the foster parents may have decided to allow her to marry out of the family because of "an unmanageable temper" or other hidden faults. Although most sīm-pûà do eventually marry despite these difficulties, we know of at least one girl in

*584 Hsiachichou who did not. What is perhaps more important, when girls
*593 do find a husband outside the family they still bear a certain stigma.
*597 A girl who is adopted as a sīm-pûà is in some sense married simply as
*562 a result of the adoption, regardless of whether or not she ever becomes
• 626 her foster brother's wife. If she later marries out of the family,
she is said to "have married twice," and is regarded with much the same
disparagement as the widow who remarries. When we asked one village
woman if a sīm-pûà could marry out of her foster family, she answered
"Yes, you can do that, but it doesn't look good. People will say,
'Oh, that woman who married twice!'"

*584 We have seen in the last chapter that the sīm-pûà marriage has
*597 several very real advantages over the preferred form of marriage. It
183 is much less expensive than the preferred marriage and it is also more
835 conducive to family harmony. Why was it then that most young people
refused to make such marriages as soon as they had acquired a voice in
the matter of their own marriage? Why was it that some girls preferred
prostitution to marrying their foster brothers? Why is it that the
parties to the sīm-pûà marriage have always had to be "pushed together?"
When asked such questions many village informants answered in such a
way as to suggest that they found the idea of such a marriage per-
sonally distasteful. Several women told us that they thought that
marrying one's foster brother was bōu ǐ-sū, "meaningless" or "dull;"
and a number of bthers indicated that they felt that such a marriage
was kiàn-siǎu, "embarrassing." Although the sīm-pûà marriage is
culturally recognized and socially acceptable, the impression we were

*593 548 about just how voluntary her actions were, even the most malicious of the village gossips agreed that it had been the girl's own idea, some of them even praising her for being so filial. More commonly, however, a girl is both reluctant and frightened at such a prospect, and the +593 548 789 parents have to use no small amount of coercion. We know of one case in which the parents resorted to magical techniques to get a particularly intransigent daughter to agree to their plans. Unfortunately, from their point of view, the girl discovered that the parents were "doing something," and so the magic did not work, the discovery itself being enough to counteract its effects. As the girl explained a few days later, "The day after I ate those things I began to menstruate +593 548 • 626 and then I knew that something was wrong." More often, however, the means employed are nothing more exotic than extreme social pressure. The girl is reminded of her obligations to her parents for raising her; she is made to feel responsible for the family's low standard of living; and, if necessary, she may be threatened with expulsion from the kê. The following account by a neighbor of the family reveals something of the pressures brought to bear on two sisters whose parents were determined that they "do something to help the family."

> "When that girl was fourteen years old her father made her go to work as a prostitute. He didn't like to work himself, and his wife worked very hard to make a living by raising a few vegetables and gathering rocks for a construction company. He made the oldest girl go to work as a prostitute because the family was large and very poor, and because the sons were all too young to work. For a while she cried every time she returned home. Later she gained a reputation as the most beautiful (the 'reddest') girl in the Peitou hotel. During this time the family lived very well, with new clothes and lots of good food to eat. Because one

girl made so much money the mother decided to send the family's adopted daughter to do the same work. She did not want to, go, but when she refused the family was very angry and wouldn't talk to her. Finally the older sister said, 'I'm a real daughter of this family, and I went to work. You are only an adopted daughter, so why can't you come to work?' The mother later told everyone that the girl wanted to go to work when she saw how much money her sister could make, but we all knew that this wasn't true. That second girl now has an illegitimate child, but she never has been able to make very much money. After a while the older girl found a man who wanted to marry her, but her mother was a very stupid selfish woman and wouldn't let her do it. Now she is poor and unhappy, and it is all her own fault. After the older girl bore her first child she began to lose her looks and earned less and less money every year. She had a child every year after that until now she has four children. She moved away from the Peitou hotels after her first child was born because she was embarrassed about how she had changed. That old lady is very poor now because of her selfishness."

Because their parents have forced them to abandon any hope of a normal life, most girls who are prostitutes have a very different relationship with their parents than do other daughters. While it would be rare for most daughters to criticize their parents let alone quarrel with them, open quarrels are not uncommon in families in which a daughter has become a prostitute at her parents' insistence. When the mother of the history quoted above finally relented and told her oldest daughter that she could marry, the girl is reported to have replied, "No, I'll just go on working. Then when I'm too ugly, you can work and support me." We also heard from several people that these two girls treated their mother "more like a servant than their mother," and on at least two occasions the mother threatened to commit suicide because of her daughters' treatment. The case we knew best, however, is that of Lim Li-kui and her daughter, Lim A-sui, as we lived in the

*121 some of the other consequences of their actions in a similarly precise
*583 manner. We have seen that the relative tension of the in-law relation-
497
182 ship within the hē is one of the considerations which enters into the
511 choice between the preferred form of marriage and the sim-pûa marriage.
Is it not possible that this consideration would carry even more weight
in their deliberations if the villagers were able to discuss the rela-
tive degrees of tension in quantitative terms? While not denying that
economic considerations are an important determinant of human action,
we would argue that their importance may be magnified by their clarity,
both to the practitioner and his alien observer.

*121 Another consideration which often enters into these decisions de-
*583 rives from the fact that marriage and adoption are public acts. Marriage
621
182 may be thought of as a union between a man and a woman and as an alliance
554 between families, but it must also be considered as taking place in a
626 community. Indeed, in the case of the preferred marriage in Hsiachichou,
the event is something more than a public act; it is a public perfom-
ance. The bride price and the dowry are displayed and carried through
the streets; the bride arrives at her husband's home with a procession
of friends and relatives; there are several feasts which are attended
by hundreds of people; and there are always crowds of onlookers whose
primary function is to praise and condemn. As a consequence, a family
must always consider what the community is going to say about their de-
cision and the way in which it is implemented. Will they gain face by
making this choice rather than that one, or will they be chancing a
loss of face? Which alternative would be most likely to enhance their

prestige; which would be most likely to cause them embarrassment? The importance of these considerations is most evident in the choice between the preferred marriage and the sim-pûa form of marriage. The sim-pûa marriage is economically and structurally the more advantageous, and yet the preferred marriage is the more common. Although it may be that we have overlooked other advantages of the preferred marriage in our analysis, it would appear that the reason so many villagers favor this form of marriage is simply that it is the more prestigious way to marry.

If this is indeed the case, it is important for us to discover why the preferred form of marriage enjoys this favored status. One reason is, of course, that it provides a family with an opportunity for display and conspicuous consumption. While the cost of the preferred marriage is one of its greatest disadvantages, it is also one of its greatest advantages. Nonetheless, this is not the entire answer. The prestige enjoyed by the preferred marriage is at least in part a function of the fact that it is considered the correct and proper way to marry, the natural form of marriage. It is the cultural standard for all forms of marriage, and all other forms are therefore imperfect by comparison. But why should this be the case if the sim-pûa marriage is the more advantageous economically and structurally? How is it that the preferred marriage has become the standard? We raise the question not because we have the answer, but because we would like to have the answer. Structural studies have gone a long way towards specifying the sociological advantages and disadvantages of various

social arrangements, but they have as yet told us very little about the processes by which one of these forms acquires the advantage of precedence. The strongest voice for conservatism in any society is probably the one which asks, "What will people think?" and it would seem of particular importance for us to discover how the standards for public evaluation come into being.

We have seen in the preceding chapters that the three forms of marriage practices in Hsiachichou create three very different forms of the family. The structure of the family resulting from the preferred marriage is different from that created by the sīm-pûa marriage, and the structures resulting from the two forms of patrilocal marriage are again different from those produced by any of the various types of matrilocal marriage. Perhaps the most important point we have to make on the basis of our analysis is that these varying forms of the family are not simply products of decisions about marriage: they are also to a considerable extent responsible for these decisions. The people of Hsiachichou are aware of the differences resulting from the three forms of marriage, and they take these into account in making decision about the marriages of their sons and daughters. We emphasize this point because we would argue that it is only when the members of a society are themselves aware of the advantages and disadvantages of any type of social arrangement that these can be called upon to explain the existence of such arrangements. Different forms of marriage and adoption may have different functions and dysfunctions, but these are only relevant in explaining these practices when they can be counted among

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien



sure; and that by his late twenties he was considered an important man. During this time he was no stranger to Peihotien, but he did not enter his father's house as a son. The villagers followed his escapades avidly, particularly his romantic attachments, since the women in his life were many and most were far from respectable. For the village youths and even their sober parents, he came to be pictured as a kind of Chinese Robin Hood.

In describing Lim Hue-lieng's early career, an eminently respectable old farmer told me, "Lim Hue-lieng started out as the leader of all the *lo mua* in this village and then of all the other villages around here. He and the other *lo mua* from here used to fight a lot and they were so famous that even now no one dares to do anything to hurt this village. If someone made a comment about somebody's walking too close to one of our girls, they would fight them right away, or if someone said something in public they would set a time and fight with them later. And if they heard a man was coming to our village to visit a prostitute who lived here, they would wait for him on the path and beat him up. They did all of this to protect the good name of the village.

"They were also famous for 'squeezing the oil' from gamblers and made a lot of money protecting the houses and names of wealthy families in Tapu. Those *lo mua* didn't have to use force. If they wanted money, they just asked someone to loan it to them, and the person didn't dare refuse."

Even the peaceful, quiet men of the village who abhor the kind of life Lim Hue-lieng led are willing to admit that there is still an aura around the name of Peihotien that causes thieves to pass it by. American friends in the well-policed city of Taipei maintained elaborate systems of locks and watchmen, but were robbed repeatedly. We left expensive cameras, typewriters, and watches scattered about our unlocked rooms and never lost so much as a pencil. The petty *lo mua* activities of today's young men are as disapproved by the older and more stable elements of the population as they were thirty years ago, and perhaps with more reason since there seems to be considerably more fighting and far less activity in support of the community and traditional morality. Peihotien's reputation provides the young men of the village with a high status among their peers, but it also demands that they maintain certain standards. They are less able than other youths to ignore a slight or an insult.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien



159 596 183 578 According to their relatives and neighbors, the Lim family could solve all their troubles by simply dividing their property and becoming separate independent family units. The large, extended family living together under one roof and contributing their incomes to a common purse is accepted by all Taiwanese as an ideal toward which every family should strive, but few have been able to maintain this form of family for any period of time. The fact that the Lims have done so makes them uneasy and watchful. Lim A-pou, with her devotion to the old traditions, has until recently been quite proud of this further accomplishment of her family, but as my stay in the village lengthened, it was obvious that she now wished a division of the family, no matter what it cost her principles and pride. Her growing dissatisfaction with Lim Chieng-cua's management of the family is not entirely emotional. She remembers poverty more vividly than the younger members of the family and in her mind it is intimately connected with tenant farming. Land, for her, is the only stable unit in an economy that changes as often and as disastrously as Taiwan's. When she sees income from the land going to pay factory workers, she imagines a day when pieces of land may be sold to enlarge the factory or pay its debts. Recent years seem less prosperous than past years. Better that the property be divided now, while it is still in the form of land, than later, when it may be an intangible piece of the factory. Lim A-pou does not understand nor trust the world in which her foster brother operates.

159 596 578 604 607 In her quiet campaign for division A-pou first made sure that she had the sympathy of her neighbors, for the opinions of neighbors have no small influence on arbiters in the settlement of family differences. Then, she began to urge her eldest son to be less compliant in his dealings with his uncle.

431 626 How successful she is in exacerbating the tensions already existing between uncle and nephew can be seen in a quarrel I had no choice but to witness. Lim A-bok walked into the dining room, grumbling to himself as he read a letter. "This man! He should be embarrassed to write a letter begging me for cucumbers. If he scorns people so much, why should I pay any attention to him."

Lim Chieng-cua looked up and asked, "What letter is that? Who is it from?" A-bok handed him the letter which he quickly read. "What's wrong with this? What's the matter?"

Lim A-pou came in carrying some buckets and said, "We never let him feed us three meals. How can he do this?"

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien



esting" than other women of their age and income, but judgments about their morality or respectability are not based on their profession. Too many village girls have had to "go out to work" to support aging parents or young siblings. In recent years, there has only been one girl in the area who entered a brothel by choice, lured by the fine clothes and exciting life. More commonly, women become prostitutes because they were raised for that purpose, or because their family is desperately in need of the income. The villagers are not inclined to think of these girls as martyrs since Chinese children are expected to make great sacrifices for their parents, but they are not likely to criticize them either. On the contrary, most villagers assume a girl has amply repaid the debt she owes her parents for raising her when she obeys their command to become a prostitute—repaid it more fully than the daughter who remains at home can ever hope to. Parents can nearly always count on the support of village opinion in deciding the future of their daughter unless that daughter has supported the family for several years by prostitution. By giving up her youth, the young prostitute has gained a certain amount of control over her future. In the village her respectability depends upon how careful she is to walk within the paths of traditional morality when she is home for a few days each month, how compliant she is in turning over the majority of her earnings to her parents, and how cautious she is with village males. A prostitute who carries on professional activities within the village is in deep trouble. If her relatives are not aware of her indiscretion, they will be told, and that is usually enough. It is a small community.

No one in the Lim family tried to conceal from us Tan A-hong's former occupation or the source of Chun-ieng's present earnings. They are not callous about Chun-ieng's fate, but they also see her soft fingers resting next to their scarred, calloused hands, her delicate silk dresses hanging beside their coarse, shapeless working clothes, her closed bedroom door when they come in after three hours of early morning weeding in the fields. About her future they feel pity, but the life of a woman in a farm family is not easy either. In Chun-ieng's difficulties with her mother, however, she has the family's complete sympathy. They may chide her occasionally, or remind her of her mother's seniority, but their words lack conviction. Tan A-hong's outrageous behavior toward her daughter would challenge the beliefs of the most adamant proponent of filial piety. In all fairness, I must

463 give legal advice but anyone can wash the car or cut the
171 grass. Not as well known perhaps are the restrictions on plumbing, electrical work, and the like. The force necessary to restrict such work to specialists in the United States largely depends on the law, police, and the courts. Although some of the enforcement of the division of labor in China is through the legal system as in the case of medicine, there is considerably less dependence on the government. Rather, there is a set of cultural values specifying which tasks are appropriate for experts
463 and which are not. The community members exert social
827 pressure on an individual who does a task customarily re-
626 served for a specialist. He is said to be "breaking someone's rice bowl" (see Glossary C). The statement illustrates a basic understanding of the total system. A man earns his rice[4] by exchanging an activity and if someone else performs that activity in his place, he will go hungry. If too many people did not hire specialists, the specialists could not purchase food, and the whole system would break down. This was about the manner that several village men were able to extend the meaning of the quoted phrase.

463 I learned the extent of social pressure on trans-
626 gressors the week we moved into the village. I nailed
123 some screening over five windows in our house and this shocked many villagers. Very politely, at least a dozen

463 men (not in a group) told me that Kao Mu-li in the next
• 626 village was very good at that kind of work, if he was em-
123 ployed the job would last longer, and right now he was not busy. I immediately hired him to build my screen door and paid above standard rates for the job to make up for my inadvertent error. This price soon became common knowledge throughout the area.

463 Other similar examples were witnessed. The village
626 barber, Liao An-pei, was seeking a wife and during our stay, built a new house with one of its rooms designated for his shop. As the building neared completion, he believed he had spent too much money. Although he had hired a painter to put one coat of paint on the woodwork, he considered doing the second coat himself to save money. Since he had never painted before, he picked up a brush while the painter was putting on the first coat and painted a window sill. Evaryone in the shop laughed at him and called others to come and see Liao An-pei painting. For days afterwards, although I could detect no difference in the comparative quality of the workmanship, visitors were shown the window-sill that Liao An-pei painted. This always brought a smile and often, an additional comical remark. Liao An-pei decided to omit the second coat until after he saved more money. He explained that business men had to be extra careful. Since almost every man in the village was his customer, if they got angry, he would lose

463 business. He also explained that every villager had his
• 626 haircuts in a barber shop and not at home. If a man was
[305] poor, he just got haircuts less often. Although Liao An-pai had a standard price, he did cut the hair of some village indigents at a discount or even free and no one seemingly abused the privilege. This kind of contribution was common in the village for the community was in some ways like a kinship group who took care of its own members when they needed help.

463 The occupations in Taiwan which are restricted to
191 specialists are equivalent to those termed professions or trades in America. The trades include repairmen and the various building occupations such as painter, carpenter, mason, roofer, or plumber. In America, even when these are restricted, many householders will perform these tasks in their own homes. Government agencies have even institutionalized the practice by issuing "Homeowner's Permits" which allow an individual to do restricted work on his own home although it requires a registered tradesman such as a journeyman or master plumber to do the same job in any other home than his own. The typical American does more of these "do-it-yourself" activities in his own home than the typical Sanlei villager. There is one regular exception: the householder may help his hired specialist. For many tasks, I could detect no difference in the quality of the work of the expert in contrast to that of the homeowner.

632 registration, village records and the draft. He assists the mayor in maintaining records and visits Talei Li once or twice each week. Most li secretaries are young and reasonably well educated. Talei Li's current secretary is a young normal-school graduate having completed two years of college.

651 In spite of the above formal procedures, there are
• 626 still elements of traditional local control. Taxes are
653 raised rigorously with legal penalties for non-payment much like they are in the United States but there are significant differences on another level. For example, the li needed a major repair to a bridge and the li school required an additional classroom. Procedures for acquiring these items were identical, a combination of formal and informal taxation. Out of the regular taxes, higher level government units agreed to match locally-raised money to pay for the items. After much investigation and analysis and many community meetings, a certain sum was declared to be required for each project. The mayor and lin chang distributed assessments to village households on the basis of wealth and ability to pay. There is no fixed basis for this distribution. The committee talks about who can pay what based on their reputation and since everyone knows a lot about each other's financial situation, this is fairly easy. The general analysis is based on land holdings, size of family, and income, but special

651 allowances are made for those who have had a heavy recent
653 expense such as a wedding. The range of assessments was
626 from $2.00 to $100.00.

The lin chang collected the money and gave it to the mayor to deliver to the government. This was all done informally, i.e., no legal pressure could be brought on an individual who refused to contribute. There would be community pressure for by refusing to cooperate a man would be failing his neighbors. In a close-knit community, one never knows when cooperation is needed; a poor man needs employment, and a rich man must hire laborers and at critical periods, the area has a slight to severe labor shortage.

746 Some social welfare support trickles into the com-
[797] munity from outside through various governmental levels and even through missionary groups which distribute United States government surplus. Other welfare is on the basis of kinship. However, the local community does assume limited responsibility for its own indigent on a community basis as previously described. There is a proverb, "A good neighbor may be more important than a distant relative" (see Glossary C).

The Farmers' Association

494 The Farmers' Association is a quasi-governmental
241 unit which operates as an important link between farmers

183 The above discussion may falsely suggest an idyllic
496 view of life in Sanlei, all peace and harmony, whereas
621 actually, there are many violations of the underlying
• 626 principles such as have already been pointed out, i.e., the man who refused to accept a consensus, and others will be discussed later. The man who refused to contribute his proper share to the temple committee has a reputation for cheapness, has a little more difficulty hiring workers during the busy season (his bonus of a meal is considered likely to consist of poor and cheap food), and he was insulted in public by the gods at the last major celebration (see Chapter VII). The mayoral candidate who refused to cooperate with the general consensus was badly defeated for mayor and also for the next office for which he campaigned.

The Fruit Cooperative

494 Taiwan has six Fruit Cooperatives, primarily market-
245 ing organizations although minimal levels of guidance and
[170] assistance are also provided. These cooperatives are all continuations of Japanese-established organizations. Talei Li belongs to the Ch'i Chang branch, one of six branches in the Taipei Fruit Cooperative which specializes in citrus fruit.

As farmers in Talei Li have taken up citrus cultivation, they have regularly joined the association.

829 in taxes. The phrase indicates the general attitude towards the government.

Social Control

121 This section deals with the formal agencies of
591 social control, the police and courts, and the quasi-
626 formal agencies, elders and mediators. However, much of the rest of this dissertation deals directly or indirectly with informal social control. Although an individual may gain much from his membership in a social organization, he always pays the price of an acceptance of limitations on the freedom to do as he pleases. Social control comes about in part because people are dependent on one another. Two sociologists (Broom and Selznick, 1968:17) once wrote, "The way men behave is largely determined by their relations with each other and by their memberships in groups."

As is clear from the description of Sanlei Ts'un presented so far, no man is socially isolated. According to Durkheim (1897--English Translation, 1951), if an individual is tightly bound into a highly integrated group with a strong sense of solidarity, he accepts the values and norms of the group as his own. This is perhaps an ideal type not to be found in reality, but Sanlei would approach this end of an ideal continuum. Most social control is achieved by informal means of one type or another.

829 The outside agencies of control are the police, courts, and army which are all regarded as legitimate by

Interpersonal Relations and "Face"

626 571 558 [262] There is seldom a "face to face" confrontation where someone directly informs another he has done wrong or is a bad man. Instead, there is considerable gossip so that a criticism soon trickles back to the accused. A villager took a turtle-dough cake home from a religious festival and incurred an obligation to return a larger cake the next year which he failed to accomplish. The temple committee members told many people about the failure but would not confront the transgressor in person. The committee posted two lists on the temple bulletin board, one specifying those who had taken home turtle-dough cakes and the other, those who had returned cakes the next year. Although a cursory comparison of the two lists would quickly reveal any violators, the committee claimed they just could not post a list which separately listed those who had refused to return turtle-dough cakes. This concept of "face" with a requirement for both avoiding giving offense and helping others to avoid giving offense does minimize the occurrence of conflict by discouraging the open expression of differences or criticisms.

558 571 576 "Face" does seriously hamper interpersonal relations on another level in spite of its employment in promoting harmony. It is necessary that one does not give offense and it is equally necessary that one helps

558 to prevent another from giving offense. Because a flat
576 no to someone by definition necessarily gives offense,
571 there are special problems in asking for a job, hiring a laborer, or extending a dinner invitation for it is necessary to do considerable hinting before a direct question is asked. When an invitation to dinner is extended formally, both parties are clearly aware that the invitation is coming and the answer will be yes. If the clues were misinterpreted, one accepts the invitation and then just does not show up. Not to show up after accepting is an insult but is not on a face-to-face basis and therefore, is not as serious. No excuse will be given later and the host will never mention it. Many dinner invitations are not extended until a few minutes before dinner. According to Chan Shao-hsing, the Chinese "yes" often has two meanings, one an affirmation, the other a polite refusal (1963:58). The closest analogy in American culture is the hiring process described by Caplow and McGee (1962) for some university positions, particularly those of higher ranks. The professor indicates he may be available while the university indicates it may have an opening. After considerable discussion, an offer may be made. However, a firm clear offer is rarely tendered without an understanding it will be accepted.

121 In Riesman's terms (1950), the "tradition directed"
558 social character is predominant for Sanlei with the
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121 community as the main agency of socialization and shame,
558 the psychological mechanism promoting conformity. This
571 is explored more fully in the chapter on the life cycle,
576 but elements are important for this discussion. Tradition
• 626 is important. Some people, particularly older ones, are considered to have such expertise with regard to cultural norms that acceptance of their authoritative interpretation of norms is frequent and natural. For example, a recently married woman wanted to go see her sister's new baby but knew there was some avoidance rule involving brides and babies. After learning from an older woman that a bride brought misfortune to a baby less than 30 days old, she willingly accepted the ruling and did not even seem disappointed. In many cases, there is this quite willing acceptance of custom for its own sake.

[562] In summary, it appears that women are not significant on an overt level for social control in the contexts discussed in this chapter. They do not really participate in formal rule, politics, or most political units. Their effects are more covert. They influence men and are extremely significant in the socialization process which builds into individuals the internal mechanisms of social control.

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|---|---|---|
| 2 chin | pork | Birth of Son |
| 2 chin | pork* | Marriage of Member |
| 2 chin | pork | Death of Father |
| 1 chin | pork | Death of Mother |
| 5 chin | pork | Death of Member |

*Plus attendance fee at wedding

[771] Any member who has a son between meetings brings turtle-dough cakes to the next meeting to distribute as consumption of turtle-dough cakes helps spread good fortune. For any member of a club, those life crises events which usually cost money are supported by fellow members.

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573 Another function is religious for worship is always part of the activities of an association meeting. Most units are organized around a particular god with whom the association establishes a special relationship. The host for the next meeting keeps the statue of the association god (which the association usually purchases) between meetings and he is responsible for the required special regular worship activities dedicated to it. The statue stays on the ancestral table in his kung t'ing until after the meeting when it will be carried to the next host's home. Also, the association may participate as a unit sponsoring part of the activities on special religious holidays or may act to refurbish the temple. One big "Fire Purification Ceremony"[1] was originated and sponsored by three cooperating sworn brothers associations.

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[626] The unit also functions in social control. At times it has disciplined transgressors; association members mildly threaten young men who have been too

573 unfilial or frighten older men with threats of physical
561 violence. The threats have always been sufficient to
627 insure proper behavior. In periods of the year when there
[626] is high probability of stealing such as near New Year's Day, or after a theft has occurred, various associations have taken responsibility for a night patrol in the village. Thieves from outside the li were caught twice in the last three years and were severely thrashed before turning them over to the police. The unit also supports
561 its members in conflict or adversity. Political support
66 for a fellow member is near automatic and it is signifi-
573 cant that most local leaders have connections with the larger kinship units discussed in the last chapter and are also members of fairly large sworn brothers associations. Local political leaders attempt to enlist association support and several usually make courtesy calls long enough for a quick drink and snack at various association meetings.

561 There are few village men who fail to join a
573 sworn brothers association as young men. A few groups have added members later in their existence although most stick to the original membership roster. A migrant to the area may establish good relations and be invited to join an ongoing group whose members are his approximate
[562] age. There are many similar clubs all over the area near Hsin Tien but there is no structural equivalent for women.

625 night stick, and piece of rope. The patrol for Talei Li usually consists of five men nightly; two men patrol the first half of the night and two others, the last while one man is on duty as a spare in case someone gets sick. He also prepares tea and noodles for snacks. Although only adult males are regular members of the I Ching, the patrol is considered part of each household's responsibility. Therefore, the fifth or spare man is often not a regular member and indeed, may often be a girl representing a household which has no adult males within the appropriate age group. A girl never patrols but she does [562] fix the tea and noodles. In this manner, a girl is seen as almost the equivalent of a male, for although she does not patrol, her activities (all night rather than half the night) mean her household has made a contribution equal to that of one furnishing a man.

[361] [491] Control of crimes is easy to maintain because there is only one road leading through the li towards town and escape over the mountains would be extremely difficult.

625 431 626 Clothes and equipment for the I Ching are purchased from funds contributed by business men and wealthier land owners in the area. Although donations are supposedly voluntary, community pressure is placed on anyone who does not willingly donate his share, i.e., there is a veiled threat that no watch will be kept on property owned by uncooperative men. Each night of work, each

625 435

783 At 1:00, everyone was back in the field and the
796 ceremony started again. The temperature was now much
787 hotter so it did not take as long as it had in the morning for the trances and running to start. A pair of chairs were carried down the hill, across the bridge, into the village proper, and in and out of the temple.
783 Many villagers became frightened as they observed the
796 chairs head for the village for if the gods were truly
784 angry with some man, the chair would enter his house and
626 do some damage. The fear was not of damage but of the
787 knowledge that the gods were strongly displeased. Fortunately, this did not happen although it had at the previous Erhlei ceremony to one important man. In this manner, any person in the community, no matter how important, can be severely criticized.

783 The gods spoke through two different young men at
796 various times while they were in trances. Both were sur-
787 named Liao and were members of old village families. One was a very proper and filial type but the other was considered a little too aggressive and had a reputation of frequenting the wine houses. The statements were in Taiwanese although any language is possible, even some spirit languages which can be translated only by a shaman. In total, there were more than seventy statements, at least one for every household in the village and a few extra general statements. Some statements were complementary

000 important event: life crises, health, and economic. The
778 home is the central focus of worship and in all but two
[353] village homes, the most elaborate and expensive furnishings
are those connected with worship. The second most impor-
tant center is the temple which is the most elaborate and
771 expensive building in the community. Although Sanlei vil-
62 lage is highly integrated, only for religion does the com-
182 munity gather in one place to act cooperatively with any
182 degree of frequency. At the li level, the temple and
632 religion serve a similar function except that in addition
771 to religion, politics and the school also feature commun-
771 ity-wide cooperation and joint activities. Religion is
602 the unifying element, at least on a manifest basis, of
182 larger kinship organizations such as the compound and
575 lineage and such voluntary organizations as the sworn
brothers and god's associations.

771 Religious values support the dictums of social con-
• 626 trol. Although there are reasonably high levels of skep-
182 ticism regarding the efficacy of religious acts, no man is
truly an atheist, i.e., although many claim not to believe
that a particular act works or has power for good or evil,
almost everyone is afraid not to perform the required
ritual when it is specified as appropriate.

771 There are so many kinds of religious and magical
183 functionaries, that one can be found to recommend almost
182 any kind of desired action. This recommendation supports
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The Desire for Children

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The following expression of the Confucian design for living is still significant after 2000 years: "Of the offenses against filial piety, lacking descendants is the worst" (Hsu, 1963:29). Barrenness is not only contrary to duty to one's ancestors, but a man without offspring to worship his soul after death may become a wandering spirit or be confined to one of the many hells. Additionally, social security is essentially provided by one's children and moreover, children are a source of prestige and a means of validating one's position in the community. It would be very rare for a childless man to fill an official position or play any significant leadership role in the community. A woman gains full status and membership in her husband's family through her children. There is a culturally provided escape for the biologically barren: an adopted child is the equivalent of a natural child.

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The pressure for descendants has other concomitant effects. A family without natural children is nearly forced to adopt one or more by community pressure even if they had no real personal desire of their own although the cultural values and logic of security mean the latter would be unlikely. Almost every woman gets married as there are few acceptable alternative roles for women outside of marriage. In the rare case of a woman who never marries, i.e., some prostitutes, or in the case of widowhood before bearing

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